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Crumbling Resistance in France

The American landing in the south of France, plus the crumbling German resistance south of the Seine, are rapidly changing the whole shape of the war. If we continue to advance from the south as speedily as we did during the first few days, we shall soon be in a position to catch the Germans below Paris in a pincers movement on a grand scale, forcing the evacuation of all southwestern France in a hurry. But as things are going, the southern jaw of the pincers may not even be needed; the German resistance in northwestern France is crumbling so rapidly that it may turn into a rout. The next determined defense by the Germans may not come earlier than the Maginot-Siegfried Line, if there.

Mistakes on a Grand Scale

Mr. Clifton Fadiman has noted that the Germans make few mistakes save those on the very largest scale. They made such a mistake in 1940 when they attempted to use infantry-coöperation planes as an independent air force, and it cost them the Battle of Britain. They have now made such another; it will clearly cost them most of France and, what is far more important, probably a good part of the armies fighting in France.

The nature of the error is apparent in the juxtaposition of a pair of items. At Warsaw, fresh Nazi reserves made an attack which the Russians repelled only with difficulty; on the Ile du Levant, our raiding parties found the post held by forty Poles in German uniforms, who turned to and with a right good will helped the Americans move their equipment ashore. The two are not the whole story. They are merely indicative, and what they indicate is the whereabouts of that famous German general reserve, at one time reported as being all the way up to a hundred divisions in size. It is being used—in so far as it exists—against the Russians, who, at the time when the troops were set in motion, were considered by far the most dangerous enemy.

Reserves to the Wrong Front

This was not altogether an unreasonable view when the decision was taken, which must have been some time in July. The group of German armies north of the Pinsk marshes had been practically destroyed, or at least very seriously disorganized, in the great Soviet offensive at the end of June. Between the advancing Russians and "holy German soil" were nothing but featureless plains, admirably suited to the operations of an army that could bring large masses of men into the field. In the west, Rommel was holding the outlets of the Cotentin Peninsula with admirable constancy and the whole Fifteenth Army stood nearby in reserve. The Allies in Italy were stopped, and there were considerable German forces in a mobile state in interior France. By any computation of the mechanical and numerical factors it should be possible to contain a new Allied landing as Montgomery's had been contained, through the use of forces immediately available, and these local forces need not even be of the first quality throughout.

The decision to do so was the mistake, and it is a sufficiently curious one for Adolf Hitler to have made,

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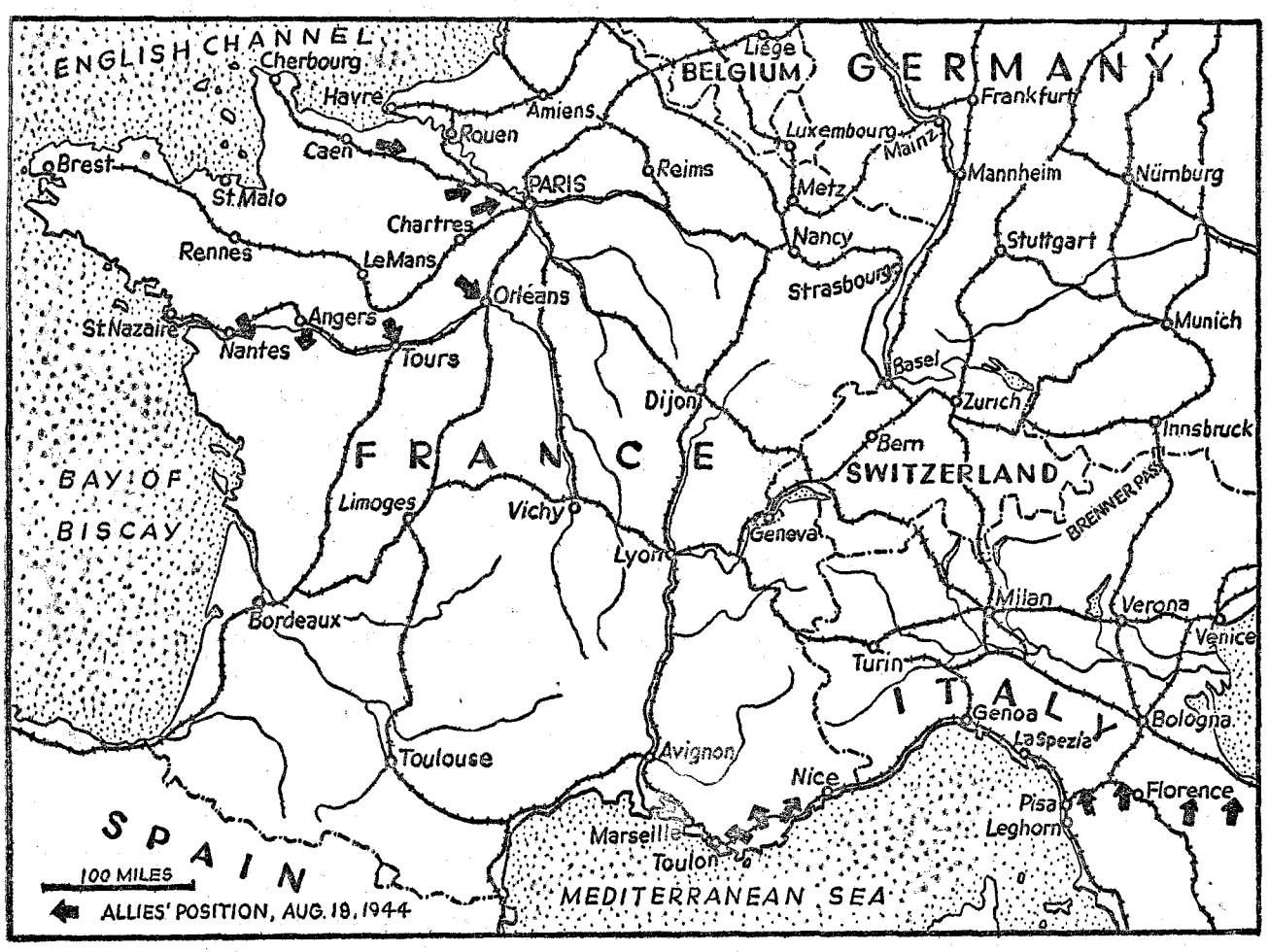
in view of the fact that his whole career had been built upon control of morale and the importance of the individual leader. Or perhaps it was merely, in a new form, that other mistake endemic in the German military mind—that, lacking flexibility themselves, they underestimate its value in others. They might have taken the repeated lesson of Tunisia-Sicily-Salerno that they were up against a commander whose outstanding characteristic was his ability to deal right off the cuff, to make new plans as he went along.

Eisenhower: Military Genius

General Eisenhower. We are today a little too close to a man called "Ike," who looks like an amiable accountant at a college reunion, to appreciate him as a commander who is at least on the level of George Washington and perhaps even higher. We do not know with accuracy and shall not until after the war, exactly what plans were made for the employment of General Patton's Third Army and of the Seventh. Very likely there were alternative plans for both; but it is most improbable that there was any plan for squeezing Patton into the narrow peninsula of Normandy, where there was already insufficient room to put into the line the troops that were there. Even when the breakthrough at Avranches was achieved, the gap was excessively narrow; it was capable of being pinched off by a strong counter-attack, and adequate port facilities to support a major movement were lacking. Eisenhower had the nerve to throw Patton's full strength through that strait, and in a plan that cannot but have been improvised, sweep it wide around to Argentan and Dreux. It is one of the boldest operations of military history; it has already gained us our greatest victory on land in this war, and signs are not lacking that it has completely thrown out of gear the German defensive arrangements.

The Germans Break Up

After the capture of Rennes, there is ample evidence that the Germans planned to defend along the line of the Seine and its tributaries back to their sources in the *massif central*, abandoning the country of the plains. The bridgehead south of the Seine was to be



The Battle of France Is Joined

The landings in southern France, so long expected, open numerous military possibilities, if they continue as successful as they were at the beginning. Our forces, turning west, can compel the evacuation of southwestern France, which may be already under way. Turning east, they can cut off one of the two escape routes for the Germans from Italy. Going up the Rhone Valley, which is undoubtedly their main purpose, they can perform both the functions just mentioned, at longer range, and can close a trap on the disintegrating German armies around Paris. These armies are collapsing so fast that it looks as though they might be withdrawn, perhaps even to the German frontier, before the forces coming from the south can be very effective.

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held long enough to enable the arrangements for this defense to be completed. But Eisenhower's forces have moved too fast; even if the German Seventh gets most of its men across the river in an escape that has come more and more to resemble Dunkirk, they will hardly arrive in shape to fight another campaign. They are beginning to break up; the German armies everywhere in France are beginning to break up. It is clear not only in the north, but also along the Riviera. When an army yields 7,000 prisoners while exacting only a few hundred casualties from the enemy, it has reached the state of a military jelly; and although the American Seventh has a long way to go before it can affect operations in the north, it has already clearly outflanked the German defense line.

Nothing the Nazis now do can accomplish very much toward retrieving the fundamental error of underestimating the skill of the enemy general or the flexibility of the sea power by which he is supported.

Dewey and the Big Four

Mr. Dewey seems to have come off second best in his public assault on the purposes of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference in Washington. The fear which he expressed, that the representatives of three of the Big Four there assembled would lay plans for a world hegemony which would exclude the smaller powers from equality of status is, to be sure, one which many have felt before him and one which a reasonable man might have entertained. Nevertheless it was a bit reckless for a man who might soon become President of the United States to spread this impression without knowledge of the facts. An utterance of this sort, if left unchallenged, was capable of doing great mischief among the Allies in this war and of prejudicing the future organization of world peace.

Fortunately, Secretary Hull did challenge it by stating forcefully that the governments concerned had no such intention and that a United Nations conference would be held soon to examine their proposals, and by inviting Mr. Dewey to confer with him in order to exchange ideas about the peace. It has long been Mr. Hull's eager desire to prevent these questions from becoming an issue between the parties, or between the executive and Congress. His action put an effective stop to Mr. Dewey's apparent intention to open a breach of this sort.

Mr. Dewey's reply, that he could not himself confer but would send Mr. John Foster Dulles to represent him, was perfectly proper, since Mr. Dulles will probably be his Secretary of State if the Republicans win. It did not, however, do much to strengthen whatever slight reputation Mr. Dewey may have as an expert on international affairs. It is generally understood, not that Mr. Dulles represents Mr. Dewey's views, but that Mr. Dewey is supplied by Mr. Dulles with whatever he may say in this field. And Mr. Dulles should have been capable of finding out what was in prospect before he prompted Mr. Dewey to speak.

Pegler to Hearst

Roy Howard of the Scripps-Howard newspapers, who has been acting like a conservative most of the time lately, has shown a flash of his former self in severing Westbrook Pegler from his payroll. Pegler, who once did a fine job exposing racketeers in the trade-union movement, has let his crusade become an obsession, and his work a sadly distorted mirror of the actual facts. He will now go to Hearst, whose journalistic standards are so similar to his own. Hearst is welcome to him; and Pegler is welcome to Hearst.

The Reconversion Conflict

As THE WAR against Hitler approaches its climax, another war in Washington is being waged about the timing and manner of reconversion of American industry to production of civilian goods. On one side is the army, personified by General Somervell in charge of the Services of Supply, together with a faction of the War Production Board led by Charles E. Wilson, and on the other is Donald Nelson, chairman of the WPB, supported by labor and small business men. The public is perplexed by the arguments on both sides, and uncertain as to the facts. It is important to understand the issues, so that as soon as the data become available, an intelligent judgment may be reached.

Everyone admits that as soon as the fighting in Europe stops, there will be a large drop in demand for military supplies, and a corresponding release of materials, productive equipment and labor in the United States. Cutbacks are already being made in specific items as production quotas are filled or shifts are made in the type of weapons required. It is obvious that if advance preparations are not made to utilize these facilities for the output of civilian goods, there will be a growing and eventually large volume of unemployment, a delay in arrival on retail markets of peacetime goods and a corresponding stimulus to price inflation.

Labor is naturally worried by this prospect. So are the manufacturers who are likely to be affected by the earlier cessations of war orders. There has for months been a strong concealed pressure for governmental permission to prepare for the rich pickings which it is expected may be made from deferred consumers' demands, the moment civilian goods can be made available. The situation is much like that which used to arise when the government was about to open up new lands in the West, and homesteaders were lined up on the border, waiting for the signal to go. On the other hand, the large and important corporations which have had the bulk of the war orders and expect to be kept

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busy even after Hitler's defeat, or at least up to the last moment of the war in Europe, are not yet waiting on the border. Consequently they want to delay the timing of the signal, lest the small fry occupy all the best trade territories before they can move in.

General Somervell favors delay. His published reason is that the war is far from over and that American industry is behind schedule in turning out many of the necessary weapons. His figures are apparently open to question, since two reputable statisticians have recently resigned from the War Production Board on the ground that their report on the progress of war production, which, it is rumored, presents a more favorable picture than General Somervell's, was suppressed at the demand of the army.

Mr. Wilson's position appears to be explained by two major considerations. Nobody can charge that he has not been wholehearted in doing everything necessary for prosecution of the war. In the past he has been fighting valiantly for more rapid and more efficient output of war materials, and in doing so he has had to take on at various times strong opponents both in the army and in private industry. Now he maintains that it is too early to take steps toward reconversion. He may believe that General Somervell's figures are correct. Or he may believe that even if they are not, lifting the bars would invite an irresistible competitive pressure for civilian markets, with the consequence that it would be difficult to finish the production quotas which are unquestionably required. In addition, he is thought to favor the proposition that fairness demands the allocation of future civilian markets with some relation to the prewar situation or to the productive capacity of the various competitors in an industry, rather than allowing a free-for-all in which those manufacturers whose output is most needed by the government will be handicapped in the race with new or small producers.

Mr. Nelson apparently is more concerned with the interests of labor and consumers in rapid reconversion, the avoidance of a sharp unemployment crisis, and a check on inflation. He does not care who makes the goods or has earliest access to the markets, so long as the process is as rapid and smooth as possible. Naturally he does not want the army to go without necessary supplies, or to hamper the war effort in any way. His plan is merely to encourage the preparation of models, and to permit the acquisition of machinery, tools and materials and the employment of labor in peacetime production as soon as, but not before, these elements are released by the war economy.

The first necessity is obviously to ascertain the objective facts without regard to the arguments which may be based on them. What do the armed forces really need, and how far along are we toward the attainment of the necessary quotas? Since the estimate of needs must be somewhat uncertain, depending on the course of the war, let them be generous, so that we may be prepared for the worst that might happen. But let us be ready to revise these figures promptly at any moment when the more unfortunate possibilities become excluded by events. This is a job ready-made for the Truman Committee (now headed by Senator Mead of New York).

If, as is probable, study of the facts shows that the nation's resources permit or will soon permit some civilian production, preparations for it should certainly begin. To this extent Mr. Nelson is on the right track. But more than this is necessary. Surely it is not impossible to come closer to a reconciliation between his view and the feeling that some planning of the peace economy would be desirable. There is no necessity that reconversion should resemble a scramble of competitors for a limited amount of wealth.

What civilian goods are necessary? What should be the order of their production? What roughly will be the annual total required from each important industry when reconversion is completed, provided we have a fully employed labor force? It is quite possible that if a peacetime production program were prepared, just as we eventually had to prepare a wartime production program, it would appear that there will be plenty of business to go around when the process is completed. We might save a lot of waste motion which would be involved in making too many of the wrong things and not enough of the right ones. Scarce materials, machinery and labor could be allocated with some relationship to the needs of the consumers for goods and to stability of employment.

Certainly it is unnecessary either to penalize small business or to endanger the future of those whose facilities are still needed by the government, if we plan eventually to produce all that the people want and to give everyone who wants to work a steady job. An orderly selective service for productive facilities in reconversion should be capable of deciding when and by whom civilian goods must be made, if the interest of the nation is to be served.

Bishop in The St. Louis Star-Times

The Smoke Screen Is Getting Thin

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Compulsory Military Training

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT and Secretary Stimson have shown political courage in raising the question of universal compulsory military training for the postwar period. The President's advisers made strong efforts to prevent him from doing so at this time, arguing that the project is not popular with the country and the suggestion would hurt him politically. Perhaps their advice was responsible for the fact that he brought the matter up only in an indirect form; and it is certain that Congress will take no final action on it until after November.

Probably this is just as well. It is presumably at least four or five years too early to say what sort of military establishment we shall need after both Germany and Japan have been decisively defeated, and how universal military service fits into such a picture. This whole question depends upon several factors that cannot be predicted with any accuracy at the present time. Will the Allies stick together after the end of the war, or will they fly apart as every other alliance throughout all history has done? Shall we have a genuine league of nations or only an uneasy and temporary military accord which seeks to conceal competing and incompatible imperialistic ambitions? Will the terms inflicted upon our enemies be such as to bring about lasting peace, or only another uneasy interregnum between wars? And above all, are the nations now prepared to follow policies that will bring about continuous high prosperity and full employment at home? (The United States shows little sign of being ready for such a thing.)

Everyone is agreed that we must not be caught again unprepared as we were by the beginning of this war; but it does not automatically follow that a year of basic training on the part of every young man is an adequate answer, or even the proper one. War nowadays is a highly complicated and technical business; many of its most important branches can hardly be learned in a year, starting from scratch. Moreover, its technology changes with great rapidity while a war is in progress, and with substantial speed even in peacetime. A "trained reservist" who has been out of active service for a year or two may prove of little more value than a man who has had no training at all. If we are to depend on a small army which happens to be in training at the moment war starts, plus a large number of men who had basic training a few years ago and have now forgotten most of it, we shall be hardly any better off than we were in 1939, or after Pearl Harbor. If we need to fight at all, common sense would seem to indicate that we ought to have an army of highly trained technicians, an army large enough to carry the full brunt of the fighting for many months. This army should consist of men enlisted for a number of years, and replacements should be mustered in and mustered out in such a way that, at any given time, new recruits will constitute only a small minority.

This is not to say, however, that there is no value in compulsory national service for all young people. Such a plan, wisely conceived and wisely executed, could be of enormous value to the nation. We see no reason, in the first place, why it should not apply to women as well as men. The United States is almost the only important country involved in this war which has not had compulsory service for women; and the whole trend of our civilization is clearly in favor of equal responsibilities, modified only by the genuine physical and mental differences between the sexes. If Uncle Sam would take every boy and girl in the nation, at the age of nineteen or twenty, give each of them an exhaustive physical examination, correct all medical and dental defects free of charge, give each of them a year of ample and nourishing food, plus proper outdoor exercise, and training in some trade or profession chosen on a basis of individual preference and aptitude, it would be a very good thing for the individual and for the country. The CCC proved this beyond dispute. We should recognize frankly, however, that such training has little to do with military security, and turn it toward creating useful citizens in peacetime.

We should also recognize frankly that if we continue to need a large military establishment for many years to come, all hope of permanent peace is out the window. Either the world will reach a point where no nation needs a big army and navy, or it will certainly go to war again sooner or later, on a vast scale. To keep up a military force and yet remain at peace is as impossible as it is for a drunkard to say that he will take two drinks a day but no more. Either our world-wide psychology will set toward peace so completely that any military establishment will seem fantastic, or we shall go on as we did between 1918 and 1939, haunted by the consciousness of approaching conflict, but unable to put in positions of authority men with the wisdom, courage and vision to turn toward peace.

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The Coming Victory in France

AMERICANS WITHIN THE GATES of Paris! The agonized pleas of the French government in May and June of 1940 for aid from the United States went unheeded at the time. It could not be otherwise, both for political and military reasons. But within four years, the logic of history sucked into the vortex of war the two estranged members of the family of nations—Russia and the United States—without whose cumulative power Hitler would have succeeded. In the East, the Russians are regrouping their armies and reorganizing their lines of communication and supplies for fresh assaults against what will probably prove to be the hard core of German resistance, in Poland and East Prussia. The virtual vacuum left by the Germans in White Russia and eastern Poland was filled by the Russians at a pace so rapid as to speak volumes about the kind of resistance met by them. In the West, the liberation of France is in full swing and will continue at an accelerated pace, for in that region German power is crumbling.

The hard centers of German resistance in the north of France have been pierced by American power which is pouring through into what appears like the empty shell of the interior of France at as rapid a tempo as that of the Russians. The effort to contain the Anglo-Americans in Normandy drew off from the south and center of France the bulk of the German pool of available combat units. As a result, the Allied amphibious operations on the Mediterranean coast are meeting with little resistance and are able to exploit and expand the beachheads much more rapidly than was possible in Normandy. It is doubtful whether this is just the lull before a critical counter-attack like that which, in the case of the Anzio invasion, almost wiped out our beachhead. The six or seven German divisions which may still be in the south of France are not of sufficient strength to enable von Blaskovitz to launch a serious counter-attack to slow up or, still less, to endanger, our invasion. Without airpower, and probably without armor and motorization, these units are suitable only for localized defenses, not for offensive purposes.

The invading Allied forces in the south of France can branch out in several directions simultaneously. One column could wheel sharply to the west to the Bay of Biscay, to meet our troops which had crossed the Loire. Another column could follow the Rhone Valley to the Paris region to join the Allied forces there. Still another could turn northeast above Switzerland to begin to probe the Maginot Line defenses. Allied forces turning sharply to the east are in position to cut off the retreat into France of the German armies in northern Italy. To avoid being captured by Allied columns coming simultaneously from the south and west, these armies would have to shift to the Brenner Pass. Even this escape route may be blocked if the quiescent Balkan front should become energized either by the Russians or by the Western Allies.

As the various fronts are joined and the constriction ring around Germany is reduced in diameter, we shall need a coalescence of at least the various Anglo-American field commands. In the planning of strategy, unified command of the Anglo-American forces resides in the Combined Chiefs of Staff in Washington. Because of the global nature of the war, execution of strategy cannot be similarly unified. For that reason separate field commands were created by the Anglo-American armies for the various theatres of war. Against Germany General Eisenhower is head of the invasion forces in Western Europe. General Sir Henry Maitland Wilson is over-all commander of the Mediterranean. Under him is General Sir Harold Alexander, the field commander on the Italian front. Likewise included in the Mediterranean command is the invasion of southern France under the field command of General Devers. However, as the Allied forces from the south of France join their comrades from the north, there will be one theatre of war in France instead of two, demanding a unification of the two commands. Since the principle is being applied by the Anglo-American forces that the nationality of the field commander is determined by the nation furnishing the bulk of the troops in any theatre of war, Eisenhower will be the field Commander-in-Chief of any merged commands.

As the various fronts are merged, we shall have passed out of the peninsular stage of conflict into one of continental or land warfare. In the initial stages of an amphibious operation a peninsula favors the invading forces, because a greater area of the land surface is within range of sea bombardment and suitable for landing operations behind enemy defense lines. But the narrowness of the land surface of a peninsula is disadvantageous in the later stages of an invasion because of difficulty of maneuver in small spaces, which makes it easier for the defense forces to contain the invader, *vide* Italy and Normandy.

The breakthrough at the base of the Normandy peninsula which opened up possibilities for maneuver furnished a spectacular demonstration that the Anglo-American forces understand and are equipped to exploit the various strategies of land warfare. The wheeling, enveloping movement by the American Third Army under General Patton around the German Seventh Army is a demonstration not only of our superiority in armor but of our ability to exploit to the best possible advantage the arsenal of modern weapons. Like amphibious operations, blitzkrieg warfare is a

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supreme test of organizational skill, for it has only two limits aside from enemy strength: the ability of the supply services to keep up with the advance, and the endurance of the troops. Whether the pursued army is destroyed or manages to escape more or less intact to fight another day depends upon the relentlessness with which the pursuing army is able to press the quarry. Perfection is not to be expected in actual execution, for otherwise a single great battle lost would also result in losing the war. Despite the fact that we counted the captives of the German Seventh Army before they were captured, the performance of the American Third Army in its pursuit of the Germans should be a matter of great satisfaction. Though extricated for the moment from the Falaise trap, the plight of German forces west of the Seine is not lessened. They are deprived of the knowledge of our moves because of the lack of an adequate reconnaissance air force. They cannot maneuver freely in daytime, they cannot receive steady and concentrated reinforcements and they cannot maintain essential bridges because of the omnipresence of the Allied tactical air force.

Aside from isolated local points of resistance, west, south and central France will fall into Allied hands depending upon the plans of the Allied command either to press for quick occupation of territories or to exploit the pursuit of the retreating German armies across the Seine. It is to be expected that the real centers of German resistance will be met in eastern and northeastern France and in the Low Countries. In that region will also be found Germany's strongest defensive barriers. On the northeast coast are located the installations for the robot bombs and for the "V2" German secret weapon. There is no gainsaying the damage that Germany's secret weapons may inflict, but it is doubtful whether they will help her avoid defeat. Great new weapons are not likely to be decisive if they come at the end of the war. What the German secret weapons may do, however, is to make the world more aware of the future menace of an uncontrolled and unsupervised German industrial plant—no mean contribution to future peace. JOSEPH ROSENFARB

The Negro Faces November

FOR THE FIRST TIME since the advent of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Democratic Party is threatened with the loss of large segments of the important Negro vote. The road back to Republicanism is grooved by habit, and a strong feeling of grievance might well prove the only impetus needed. In several pivotal states the return to Republicanism already is in progress. By their evasive tactics, the politicians who controlled the Democratic National Convention did more to encourage the Negroes' return to the GOP than Republican politicians did three weeks earlier with their far-reaching platform promises. The raw deal given Wallace by the President and the party bosses, coupled with the weak racial clause in the Democratic platform, gave renewed strength to Republican Negro leaders.

Northern Negro newspapers still are bristling with editorials and news stories condemning the Democrats. They represent all shades of political opinion, yet they are almost unanimous in their criticism of the party for its appeasement of Southern interests.

"Leaders Rip Weak Demo Race Plank" is a typical headline, spread across page one of a recent issue of The Chicago Defender. A two-column front-page editorial in the same paper asserted that the "cocky, machine-minded political bosses who ran the convention" chose to ignore the Negroes' wishes on the two issues of crucial concern to them—a fair-minded and fearless racial clause in the platform, and the renomination of Vice President Henry A. Wallace, champion of equal rights.

"For the Negro voters of America—two million strong and the unquestioned key to victory or defeat for either party in 1944—there can be but one attitude and approach to this coming election," the editorial said. "As of now, there is little to choose between the Democrats and Republicans. Negroes in coming days must become practical politicians. We must drive hard bargains with the two major parties. . . ."

The Pittsburgh Courier, equally indignant, carried a banner head: "Democrats Sell Race, Wallace, to Buy South." William G. Nunn, the Courier managing editor, wrote: ". . . dispassionate observers see in the nomination of Senator Harry S. Truman (for Vice President) and the phraseology of the platform an appeasement of the South which must rank in cowardice and shortsightedness with the ineptitude shown by Chamberlain at Munich. . . ." A second news story bore the headline: "Blade So Keen, Wallace Didn't Know His Throat Had Been Cut."

This new resentment has added fresh fuel to the following major grievances against the New Deal voiced by Negro leaders:

The continuous harping on "white supremacy" by Southern Democrats;

Failure of the President to condemn publicly the bloody race riots, particularly the Detroit disorders;

Discrimination against Negroes in the armed services;

Lack of militant enforcement of the President's executive order against discrimination in government agencies and war plants;

Failure of Congress to establish the Fair Employment

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Practice Committee as a permanent group, and to enact federal anti-lynching and anti-poll-tax laws.

Because it was so recent, the record of the Democratic convention has assumed weighted measure in the Negroes' bill of particulars against the party. Plainly, as the Negroes charge, the platform race plank reflected an abject surrender to the Southern bloc: "We believe that racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our Constitution. Congress should exert its full constitutional powers to protect those rights." Heads of Negro organizations had appeared before the convention Resolutions Committee and had begged, warned and respectfully requested the platform carpenters to include commitments to work for a permanent FEPC, and anti-poll-tax and anti-lynching legislation. They were blandly ignored by the Democrats, despite the fact that the GOP had promised to work for a constitutional amendment to outlaw the poll tax, and for a Congress-created FEPC and anti-lynching law.

The mental processes of the Democratic politicians were transparent enough. Faced with the alternative of aggravating the Negroes or the more articulate Southern Democrats, they had capitulated to their party reactionaries, implacably opposed to any specific proposals that would have interfered with segregation of the races and endangered "white supremacy" in the South. The "compromise" plank was promptly characterized as "a splinter" by Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and a few days later Democratic Senator Dennis Chavez of New Mexico candidly acknowledged that the race clause was "very weak." He warned that Democratic congressmen must support legislation satisfactory to the Negroes before November if Negro votes are to be redeemed.

Some hard-boiled Democratic politicians adhere to the pat conviction that the Negroes will forget all about the party platform by election time. Should any Negro voters tend to be so forgetful, they are sure to be amply reminded by Republicans during the campaign. They will be reminded, too, that the GOP platform pledged an immediate congressional inquiry into discrimination against Negroes in the armed forces.

The importance of this discrimination in the services cannot be minimized, for it reaches into hundreds of thousands of Negro homes that have sent their sons to the wars to fight for freedom. An official of the NAACP, which is politically non-partisan, said the association has received numerous letters from Negro soldiers sharply protesting against segregation and discrimination, and warning that their parents will register their protests at the polls. The same association member, who personally has voted for the present administration three times, summed up his feelings as follows:

> The President has done a great deal for the Negro race, and we are eternally grateful to him for it. But in the last few years he has shown a tendency to relax his efforts in our behalf, to appease the "white supremacy" elements—as shown most recently in Chicago—and that has put a great many of us on the fence. The way I see it, the Negroes have got about as much out of the administration as they'll ever get; now let's see what the other party will do for us.

But another member of the NAACP was quick to give the other side of the picture. The Negro, he said, will not be misled by the "glittering generalities and sparkling promises" of the Republicans. He pointed to an editorial resumé of the GOP record published a few days earlier in The Washington (D. C.) Afro-American, which contrasted the various party planks with party actions. It said, in part:

> Despite 16 years of McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft, and 12 years of Harding, Coolidge and Hoover, years in which Republicans occupied the White House, dominated Congress and controlled the Supreme Court, not a single pledge was kept. Republican four-flushers sprinkled their vows like perfume in all directions. They never meant to keep them. They meant only to make us think so.

The still-Democratic NAACP member further told the writer that thoughtful Negroes, too, give pause when they recount their concrete gains under the New Deal. They remember the President's executive order of June, 1941, warning against discrimination in the hiring of personnel for war plants, as one of the most impressive acts in their behalf—even if the order was later allowed to rust. They recall the President's creation of the FEPC and the so-called "Black Cabinet" of government advisers; the raising of the level of Negro patronage and all of the broad Rooseveltian social-welfare programs that served as life-belts not only to the Negro but to the great masses of "have-nots" during the depression years. And they retain a very warm spot in their hearts for both the President and Mrs. Roosevelt personally—but here they assert that the issues transcend any affection for individuals.

In balancing the past benefits of the New Deal against current, live grievances, the Negro voter is apt to be more influenced by the latter. The emotional upset of a colored buck private who finds himself the victim of discrimination in the service probably will far outweigh any recollection he may have of his days in the National Youth Administration or of WPA assistance. Certainly the fear of race riots, plus the conviction that the administration would hesitate again to take a positive stand, is more deeply ingrained in the Negro mind today than the memory of a three-year-old order prohibiting discrimination in war plants.

This probability that a substantial "protest" vote will be cast carries a special significance in light of the traditional Republicanism of Negroes north of the Mason-Dixon line. There is evidence that the swing

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back started two years ago, although it must be remembered that trends in non-presidential years never can be taken as absolute indication of what will be done in presidential-election years. Still it is noteworthy that in 1942, for the first time since pre-FDR days, Negroes gave the bulk of their votes to Republican candidates for state and congressional offices in the North.

To spot a few localities: New York's Harlem, Democratic before the New Deal, remained Democratic by four to one in the governorship election of 1938. In 1942 it shifted sharply and helped to elect Thomas E. Dewey head of the state. Again last February, in the Twenty-first Congressional District of New York, including a large section of Harlem, the majority of colored votes went Republican. Last March in a special election in the Second Congressional District of Pennsylvania, in the Negro section of Philadelphia, a Republican candidate obtained 58 percent of the Negro vote and won; prior to that the colored voters had gone Democratic by easy majorities.

Kentucky Negroes voted the Democratic ticket by two to one in 1936 and 1940. After the November election last year the successful Republican nominee for Governor, Simeon E. Willis, said publicly he could not have won without the heavy Negro support.

The Negro vote is substantial in at least 17 Northern states, but more important, it comprises the balance of power in eight large states having an aggregate of 202 electoral votes, only 64 short of the number necessary to win. The big eight are New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Missouri, Indiana and Michigan. To win an election, a presidential aspirant must depend to a large extent on these states. And four of them—New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois—top all the rest in the number of Negro voters.

The Democratic Party still can save this Negro vote. From a practical standpoint, unfortunately it is too late for party leaders to try to enact, before the election, the legislation desired by Negroes. It is not too late for them to start a persuasive campaign to convince the Negro, in door-to-door canvassing if possible, that Republican promises in the past rarely have reached fulfilment, that despite the administration's shortcomings it still has done immeasurably more for the Negro than the Republicans ever tried to do. But the Democrats must act swiftly.

Washington EDWARD A. HARRIS

Doctors Against Public Health

THE WAGNER-MURRAY-DINGELL social-security bill is "perhaps the most virulent scheme ever to be conjured out of the mind of man." This is the considered opinion of Morris Fishbein, M.D., editor of The Journal of the American Medical Association and indefatigable propagandist for free enterprise in medicine. Dr. Fishbein speaks for the AMA, whose House of Delegates, he maintains, represents the majority of American physicians. He goes on to say, "should the bill pass, the best qualified physicians would want no part of it." The "best qualified," he estimates, include all but 20 or 30 percent of American doctors—128,000 of the approximately 160,000 physicians practising medicine in the United States.

Coming from a labor union, such talk would be smeared across the front pages of the nation's newspapers as a strike threat of sensational proportions; coming from a trade association, labor would brand it as a warning of a widespread lockout. But coming from the AMA, it is received and publicized as another gallant defense of the "American Way."

The attack by medical men on the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill is spearheaded by the AMA through its own activities and those of its constituent state and county medical societies. County and state groups leave high-pressure tactics in Washington and elsewhere to the national organization, while they keep the run-of-the-mine doctor in line.

Dr. Fishbein's Journal set the tone for the campaign in its "gauleiter" editorial last summer, which asserted that under the bill the Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service would become the dictator of American medicine. This, said The Journal, would mean virtual "enslavement" of physicians and patients.

Medical conditions in the United States, insists The Journal, do not call for any revolutionary changes. "Voluntary control and inspiration" must be left in charge of medicine in America, because infant mortality here is the lowest in the world, life expectation is "definitely" longer than in "any country having a system of voluntary health insurance," public-health departments are continuously improving their work and personnel, and American hospitals and medical education have reached a point of world leadership. All this is true, but even Dr. Fishbein, in repeated AMA platforms for improvement of medical care, has admitted that American medical science is not employed nearly so extensively as its excellence would warrant.

The AMA, however, keeps primly aloof from too much direct political activity. In its stead operates the National Physicians' Committee for the Extension of Medical Service, an independent organization which has absorbed and promotes the platform of the AMA Bureau of Medical Economics and the policies of its Bureau of Medical Service and Public Relations. The NPC lobbies and campaigns against the Wagner-

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Murray-Dingell bill on a national basis, using any means it can devise. Its role as the main AMA front, despite emphatic denials on both sides, was stated clearly by Dr. Chester I. Ulmer, chairman of the New Jersey branch. Pointing out that the AMA enjoys the status of a "non-profit, scientific and educational foundation exempt from taxation," he said: "A departure from established practice would in all probability entail the forfeiture of this status. This, in turn, would entail exorbitant taxation."

Since its founding, under the administration of a former Frank Gannett man, John M. Pratt, the NPC has flooded the country with releases, pamphlets and handouts. (See the New Republic editorial, "Dirty Work Among the Doctors," August 30, 1943.) The crop, once the smearing and factual distortions are shorn away, emphasizes the single point of the importance of free enterprise. A recent NPC pamphlet, subtitled "A Challenge to Private Enterprise," contains summary tabulations and explanations of the results of a poll conducted by the Opinion Research Corporation of Princeton, New Jersey, engaged by the NPC to study the opinions of the American people on medical care. The poll claims to show that 57 percent of the people oppose the fixing of physicians' fees (by the government); 56 percent oppose the "limitation of free choice of physicians" under a system of federal medicine; and 56 percent oppose the federal government's paying the expenses of medical students. A Gallup poll in August, 1943, reported 59 percent of the persons sampled favor extension of social security to cover medical care and hospitalization expenses.

The NPC interprets its results as "a challenge" for all interested groups to get together on methods of extending medical care and hospital benefits, like those now enjoyed by members of voluntary plans, to 100 million persons. This task, it declares, belongs to those desirous of "preserving for the United States the *private-enterprise* system." The cordial invitation has already been accepted by representatives of business, industry, Chambers of Commerce and allied groups.

One of the purposes of the NPC is to "inform private insurance underwriters of the opportunity that is being offered through coöperation in the nationwide effort to provide group insurance policies for those needing or desiring insurance against the hazards of unusual illness." Commercial insurance companies, which have already sold about four million health policies at premiums in excess of those proposed in the Wagner bill, have responded nobly and their moral support is buttressed by operators of not inexpensive group-health and hospitalization plans, for which the NPC claims a 25-million membership.

Although for years organized medicine met the growth of such plans with opposition almost as bitter as that which it has mustered against the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, the AMA, through the NPC and county and state medical societies, is now advocating these very voluntary prepayment plans—preferably, under its direct control. The NPC calls the voluntary plans the medical salvation the American public has been seeking, although Dr. Fishbein himself has said that less than five percent of the people actually carry health insurance.

The latest stunt of the NPC is a dangerous one. Physicians throughout the country were sent letters asserting that to cure the "disease" afflicting the institution of medical care would require a minimum of $500,000 annually for a period of three years. Accompanying the letters were blank forms for subscribing anything from $5 to $1,000. The blanks also contained space for checking off disapproval of the NPC activities. There have not been any cases reported thus far of doctors who disapproved of the NPC program actually being dropped from membership in medical societies, but this may be only the result of a fearful or "do nothing" attitude taken by disapproving physicians.

Furthermore, material disseminated by the NPC has asserted that contributions are tax-deductible. However, inquiries to the Internal Revenue Department by two well known medical-care authorities ascertained that this claim was false. They were told, they said, that such contributions could not be listed among income-tax deductions.

The local medical society in Erie County (New York) recently assessed each member $25 to be used for defeat of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill. Failure to pay this assessment may involve expulsion from the county society and hence from the AMA. Since most hospitals limit practice privileges to physicians in good standing with their professional organizations, a vote against the assessment or refusal to pay it could well mean professional suicide.

Grass-roots opposition lets off steam in local official publications, letters from doctors and laymen in both the medical and daily press, "forums" on medical-economics problems in which everyone takes the same side, confidential talks between doctor and patient, and every other ethical medium available to the embattled physicians (or, let us say optimistically, to their embattled and entrenched leadership).

In Lake County, Indiana, a significant new organization, the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons, has been formed in an attempt to focus all grass-roots opposition. Officers are the same as those of the Lake County Medical Society. Conditions of membership include good standing in the AMA. The association's most original weapon is a members' pledge to a professional boycott of fellow physicians who favor the bill—a move which could effectively force a physician out of practice. Otherwise, its activities duplicate those of the NPC.

The association's methods, however, exhibit more than a touch of the Chamber of Commerce technique.

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Its program is supervised by Rollen Waterson, a public-relations man who was hired in 1939 as executive secretary of the Lake County Medical Society, when the membership decided that organized medicine needed to have some "selling" done to the general public. Waterson "sold" medicine via the press, radio, commercial motion-picture theatres and other promotional media, through bona-fide news releases, dramatic human-interest stories and other proved devices. Under his direction, Lake County physicians present a united front against any threat to private practice. He waged a successful fight against political domination of medical services for Lake County's indigent, with, as one result, continuation of private control of pre-school immunization against communicable diseases.

Lake County may foreshadow similiar activities by other county societies which are belatedly attempting to recoup lost ground by increasing public-relations appropriations. Waterson's program is calculated to retain for the entire Association of American Physicians and Surgeons, once thoroughly established, the kind of economic order which permits the Lake County Society's activities to continue unjeopardized by the threat of public control or participation.

Hospitals have lined up beside the doctors in the fight against the bill. The American Hospital Association built up a fund by steep jumps in dues for member hospitals. Inquiring administrators, startled by the unprecedented increases in dues, were informed bluntly that the money was to be used for the hospitals' end of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell-bill fight. Rt. Rev. Msgr. M. F. Griffin of Cleveland, a trustee of the American Hospital Association, in a statement delivered shortly after the introduction of the bill, indicated one of the chief elements in the drive to block its passage. "The wealthy, the high-salaried, as well as those in the more modest income brackets, are all included, not because by any stretch of the imagination they are in need of assistance from a paternalistic government, but because this is another way to get some of their money," he said. Monsignor Griffin quoted Pratt of the NPC on the "fantastic" yearly cost of the bill—"$3 million for medical care alone," although the United States Chamber of Commerce has estimated that $10 billion is lost yearly through ill health—and concluded that federal medicine means "abject slavery."

Enter the states'-rights chorus, with the AMA and its cohorts the leading voice. Any compromise will suffice, as long as the federal government is kept out of it—although a few years back, in a surprisingly liberal platform, the AMA went on record as favoring federal supplements to state funds to equalize both expense and distribution of medical care. That, to be sure, was before the onslaught of war prosperity, when a lot of people who never before were able to afford medical care went to the doctors to have the ills of years attended to.

The AMA program of political action is probably defined most sharply in the NPC pamphlet which says:

> With the active coöperation of the individuals and the groups directly affected—the professions, the manufacturers, the distributors, American labor, the insurance industry and American industrial concerns—steps can be taken which will bring relief to 100 million people and provide a method of meeting the cost of unusual and prolonged illness and of hospitalization.

The steps are seen in outline in the speech of Representative Louis Miller, St. Louis Republican, before the St. Louis Medical Society:

> There is a school of thought presently ensconced in public office, as powerful as it is ruthless, which favors complete federal control of the practice of medicine. While the nation fights a global war to rid the world of foreign dictators the starry-eyed planners and disciples of the discredited and almost defunct New Deal plot to foist a domestic dictator in Washington upon your profession. . . . The purpose of these plotters is plain. They attempt to tear down American institutions as well as our form of government and to substitute instead a master plan of state socialism.

This kind of hysterical nonsense is cropping up wherever the doctors can use tory congressmen to advantage. It consists of violent denunciations the doctors themselves cannot afford to make. The course of the argument is wholly illogical. Even when constructive suggestions are offered, they are attempts to forestall passage of the bill through establishment of insurance programs run by the medical profession—although, in effect, the bill calls for nothing more than a super-insurance program underwriting the nation's medical bills. It offers the doctors the surcease from preoccupation with the bill-collecting aspects of their profession for which they have been eager for many years. To call this mild national health insurance a "revolution in methods of medical care distribution" is either willful stupidity or rank dishonesty.

The bill, to be sure, has some medical friends. One group of eminent physicians, the Committee of Physicians for the Improvement of Medical Care, Inc., which cannot approve the bill as it now stands, suggests "definite and important changes." Its recommendations are both carefully considered and responsibly drawn; they would make the medical-care provisions yet more effective. The committee would limit initial coverage to persons with annual incomes of less than $2,000 or $2,500, and prefers a tax-supported system under which then could be developed logically a program to provide care first for those who lack it, and later for others "either according to a prearranged time-schedule or as experience and expediency warranted it," with all contributing.

It further recommends the opportunity to purchase supplementary, luxury services for those persons who want and can afford them; declares "there should be

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positive provisions in the bill, not only to make possible the practice of coöperative medicine by groups, but also to encourage and nurture its growth"; urges elimination of the fee-for-service system (a sore point which the bill carefully sidesteps); suggests that hospitals wishing to participate in the program be required to meet certain standards, and calls for the establishment of health centers, whereby hospitalization of patients whose illnesses do not require in-patient facilities is eliminated. The committee members find the philosophy behind the bill sound and in line with the times, though awkward in some points of implementation. In the words of one of the committee: "It does express the trend of thinking of what will seemingly be the dominant postwar political thought. Here, again, perhaps the most dangerous element in the bill is failure to concern itself with and to provide for and safeguard the maintenance of high medical standards." It is to be hoped that rank-and-file physicians will persuade Congress to see the bill in this light rather than in the light cast by Morris Fishbein and associates.

BEKA DOHERTY and ARTHUR HEPNER

Trouble in Cambridge

I

Here in the lovely gloom of green
The immaculate clipped lawns,
Here where the lazy river hardly ripples,
Bearing the delicate shells
And small white sails
As its one treasure,
Here where houses are rooted
As the elms along brick-walks—
Hurricanes have been known.
Floods are imminent.
Under every house the river rises
Troubling the children's sleep
"Dirty nigger, dirty son of a Jew":
The children know already what we do not know.
The river is rising in their blood
Where they lie on hot nights, flushed.
"Trouble at Kerry Corner—
Ragged armies gather and disperse."
The radio is silent.
The newspapers hush-hush,
Hush-hush the river.
There is no rising.
Only the children in their sleep
Scream, "It's coming!"—
The end of our world,
Or a battle in the street.

II

What shall we tell the children of their town?
Unknown and strange as Africa,
The gangster-land, the terrible street,
The secret bloody corner
Where the antagonists have always met?
(You will not know these things when you are grown.)
We knew but we have forgotten,
The muckers who whipped our legs with birches,
The little boy nobody spoke to,
The war that is child's play, nothing more.
Is it really forgotten, nothing? No.
A violent stranger we have sheltered always,
Heard speak out of our own mouths,
"A Jew? Well, that explains it."
Explains what?
The war maybe.
"He didn't mean it, of course,
Just looking for trouble."
"Am I trouble?"
"It must be somebody's fault and not our own."
(You will not remember this when you are grown.)
But what shall we tell the children of their town?
The street is the world. They know it in their sleep.
Fear rides them, quick and and sensitive horses
Spurred to gallop down the dreams of violence.
But do we know the answer well enough to speak?
What shall we tell the children when they wake?

III

This is the world. Here in the quiet room,
Here on the pleasant street and by the river,
Here in the chestnut-flowered, lilac-drenched sweet gloom
Of gardens, this is the world. It is a world of terror.
It is a world that makes the children shiver.

This is our world. We have to make it over,
A violent world where hatred always lies
In wait for all of us, a sleepless monstrous lover
Who looks out suddenly from neighbors' eyes
And from our own when least expected and least wanted.
This is our town. These are our lives and they are haunted.

It is an evil season: remember every single Negro
In this beleaguered town is wounded by our fear,
And every Jew knows what he does not want to know:
This we have done to our own neighbors, here.
Now it is almost, but not quite too late.
What shall we tell the children dreaming hate?

What shall we tell the children when they wake?
Now on the hour, not later, that the time has come
To recognize the evil and the world we have to make:
And here in our town we fight also for home.
Tell them unless we conquer hate and fear and bring
Peace to the heart, there will be murder in the spring.

Or—tell them no one believed, no one would understand;
No one was quick enough to put out a saving hand.
Tell them we guessed perhaps but were afraid to move.
Tell them we didn't have any real belief or love.
Tell them we sat indoors and waited for the flood:
Tell them the river rose and it was a river of blood.

Cambridge, Mass. MAY SARTON

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Washington Notes

Mainly Political

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT looks refreshed and vigorous. He seems prepared to play his queer role in what promises to be one of the queerest campaigns in history. It is a queer campaign, first, because it coincides with a war. That has only happened twice before in United States history. And it is queer, second, because Mr. Roosevelt is going to look up with arch surprise, in his straight Commander-in-Chief role, every time anyone mentions that a campaign is going on. As to the voters' reaction to the campaign, which begins its active speaking phase next week, it gives signs of being apathetic and listless. That, in fact, is one of the greatest dangers Mr. Roosevelt faces.

Both sides are sparring for points. There seems an honest hope that the Hull-Dulles conference may lift foreign affairs out of the political campaign. Such a result might in the long run be almost as important as who wins the election. But Mr. Dewey so framed his foreign-affairs statement, leading up to the Hull invitation to Dulles, as to extract certain political advantage from it. Isolationists were glad in any case to have Dewey take a "strong stand"; the quasi-isolationists, like the Scripps-Howard papers, were glad to attack the administration on a side issue of "secret diplomacy"; while as to the independent voters, who want the war to mean something in international affairs, the Dewey action was tantamount to telling them that the Republican candidate is keeping well abreast of world events, and that he and his advisers are as competent as Mr. Roosevelt to handle them. All this—and no specific commitment from Mr. Dewey himself.

Whatever Mr. Roosevelt says to the contrary, this writer has reason to believe that he has communicated with Wendell Willkie. Mr. Roosevelt made a qualified denial of it last week, but the facts seem certain. Mr. Willkie has not as yet made up his mind what to do in this campaign. Mr. Roosevelt, as well as everyone else, is aware that Mr. Willkie was the Great Absentee at the Republican convention. Mr. Willkie has considerable influence over independent followers. Quite apart from other evidence, it would be plain stupid if Mr. Roosevelt did not try to enlist Willkie, if only to send him on another Moscow mission. Willkie's actions will doubtless depend on Dewey's future foreign-policy course. When Dewey deftly brushed off Ham Fish on the side issue of his alleged "religious intolerance" rather than on the real issue of his reactionary isolationism (which would have annoyed Dewey's own isolationist supporters), Willkie pounced on the omission like a cat on a mouse. It is believed by some that Mr. Willkie will declare for Roosevelt. I am rather inclined to think he will give a nominal endorsement to the Republican candidate, to keep his party record straight, but hold himself free to comment or criticize. Mr. Willkie believes that the GOP can't lose four straight elections and remain a party. And he thinks he might still be residuary legatee of the liberal elements, say in 1948.

The army, in its quiet way, has made Senator Taft out a fool, and has won a congressional reversal of the preposterous law banning political material from soldiers. The army has achieved this happy result by that form of quiet sabotage which trade unionists have found so effective—carrying out rules and regulations rigidly to the letter; a process calculated to make the biggest industrial plant a shrieking madhouse in a few days. The Taft political prohibition on the army information list was preposterous to begin with, and the army showed just how preposterous it was by putting it rigidly into effect.

To this writer the ban that hurt most was that on British newspapers in American army posts. The average Yank in Britain isn't going to read the banned books of Sumner Welles or Charles Beard and Company anyway, but what little news he does get about why he is fighting comes from local newspapers, not the army's own neuter and castrated Stars and Stripes or Yank. For many purposes these, in some ways admirable, publications might as well be the house organs of the German as the American army, so far as ideological content goes. Many an American soldier for the first time has found out what the war is all about on looking into a thin little British penny paper. I am glad to report that the army tells me this blanket ban will be lifted.

Notes: Roy Howard has washed his hands of Westbrook (Stuck-whistle) Pegler and is turning him over to Hearst's King Features where he has long sympathetically belonged. The feeling is that even the Pegler newspaper audience is tiring of the single strident note. . . . Senator Harry S. Truman will carry the political ball part way for Mr. Roosevelt, and will probably get more journalistic attention than a vice-presidential candidate normally receives on that account. The assumption here is that his speeches will be passed on, or written, from the White House. Truman's attack on the George unemployment bill as "utterly inadequate" is already indicative, and he is also representing Donald Nelson in the reconversion controversy. . . . It is reported here that NYTimes man Krock helped Dewey prepare his warning to Hull (which paved the way for the Hull-Dulles talk) on the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. . . . Incidentally, Mr. Roosevelt has denied a NYTimes story, that he is going to London or Paris before the election. However, the President has told a press conference that he expects to confer soon with Churchill, and reporters here can hardly believe that he will pass up the chance of dramatizing his "Commander-in-Chief" role somewhere or other with his old friend the Prime Minister, or maybe Stalin, before the election. . . . All indications point to the CIO-Political Action Committee's becoming more and more the center of Republican attack, on the ground that the CIO has "captured" the Democratic Party. In a way it is like the attack on the old Liberty League, but in reverse. Hillman was born in Russia; most of his New York clothing workers are immigrant Jews; he worked out a deal with New York Communists in the ALP row: political capital can be made out of all these points. Life Magazine's August 21 editorial, calling the whole thing "a foreign phenomenon"—not on the racial issue, but because of his "intellectual backers' arrogant resentment against American's middle-class nature"—is a case in point.

Washington T. R. B.

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Independents' Day

THE CHIEF TREND going on in Hollywood at present is toward the formation of independent movie organizations which might be expected some day to make movies that are appreciably less cowardly and commercialized than the present major-studio product. At least a dozen of these companies have been formed in the last two years, but they are as yet only halfway independent, because many of them are partly financed by the large studios and all of them must distribute their pictures through the major studios' chains. The names and owners of some of these new studios are: California Pictures (Preston Sturges and Howard Hughes), International Pictures (William Goetz and Leo Spitz), William Cagney Pictures (the Cagney brothers), Vanguard Films (Selznick), and other units run by Bing Crosby, Sam Wood, Monter and Ripley, Hal Wallis, etc. The reason they were formed, it is said, was to allow their owners to cut down their income taxes: by forming their own corporations, these people can make a few pictures each year on nominal weekly salaries, and report their income-tax returns on the basis of capital gains. According to the internal-revenue rules, capital gains are permitted greater retention of profits than are salaries or fees. This may or may not be the reason for the new units, but many of these people are talented, intelligent and sensible film technicians and they might also want to make more important pictures than the big-studio product.

The trend isn't taken very seriously by the large studios, since a similar one turned up during the First World War and got nowhere; also since they have a strangle-hold on distribution, they will not distribute films that make their own movies look inadequate. But one or two of these new organizations—for instance, International Pictures, which has Nunnally Johnson, Casey Robinson and Gary Cooper under contract, and a box-office hit, "Casanova Brown," to start off with, and the Sturges-Hughes company, which isn't likely, on Sturges' past record, to make unsuccessful pictures—will probably end up as completely independent companies with their own distribution facilities, making pictures that might cause the large studios surprise and worry.

Since many of the people in these new groups have been concerned in the past with making above-the-average films, they will probably turn out even better ones on their own. But I doubt that they will make movies which are frankly original in their styles or independent in their ideas, mainly because they are all Hollywood-bred or, just as important, are working in Hollywood: there are many things about the place that make for a certain kind of movie in the way that a cold climate makes for certain kinds of animals. Put a person to producing films in Hollywood, and he invariably starts thinking in terms of photographed plays rather than movies, of art being separate from entertainment and so not for him, and of not making a movie that will try to change thought or feeling. I would advise all of these independents to go somewhere else in the United States to make their movies. My pessimism over what they can do in Hollywood is prompted by the pictures that have been made so far by the independents: "Casanova Brown," "Lady of Burlesque," "Johnny Come Lately," "Flesh and Fantasy," which have been so little different from the average Hollywood film as not to matter under what conditions they were filmed. The one very different film they have made, "The Voice in the Wind," by Monter and Ripley, is a 1928 version of the kind of movie made today, mixed in with very good intentions and influences from the worst European "art" movies.

The other Hollywood trend—that of making longer and longer movies—may not be so important as the outburst of half-independent producers, but it has already made several films tiresome that didn't have to be, and threatens to do other things like replacing double-feature programs with one picture as long as two. Seventy movies have been produced this year which run for at least an hour and forty minutes; twenty-seven have run for two hours; and six—"Dragon Seed," "Since You Went Away," Frenchman's Creek," "An American Romance," "Wilson" and "Mr. Skeffington"—average two hours and forty minutes, and at least $3,500,000 each to produce. The chief reason for alarm over such ballooning is that it may cause the producers to cut down on their production of cheap movies, which have always been the most likely entering wedge for new people, the most likely place to find unconventional subject matter and techniques, and things generally more relaxed and human. The movie people say the whole trend is a temporary phenomenon, and the demand for cheap films—and double features—by the public is too great to stop the production of B movies. At any rate, Hollywood seems to be increasingly of the opinion that a major film can't be made for less than a million dollars or shorter than an hour and a half, and once it gets set in that idea, you can generally expect a more academic, conservative major film.

MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

A German broadcast at 7 o'clock tonight repeated the announcement of the attempt on Adolf Hitler's life and followed through with martial music in place of a previously scheduled discourse on "The Extermination of Rats." – *UP dispatch from London.*

In taking this step [barring British newspapers and magazines from our camps in England and France] the United States Army authorities are obeying the soldiers'-voting law requirement that "no member of the United States armed forces shall have his vote influenced in any way." . . . The United States Army post exchange is selling only two American papers inside the camps—the weekly edition of The New York Times and the weekly edition of The Chicago Tribune. – *A Reuters dispatch from London.*

Easy There, Fiorello!

Tax sales of Copacabana and La Vile Parisienne furnishings set. Page 21. – *From the New York Times index.*

That All-Out Effort

The city commission is giving favorable attention to a proposal to provide free licenses to dogs honorably discharged from the services. – *AP dispatch from Fresno, California.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

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Correspondence

What Kind of Reconversion?

SIR: There is much confusion at present over the nature and direction of the reconversion program announced by Chairman Donald Nelson of the War Production Board. It is clear, however, that the armed services, aided and abetted by the White House and big business in and out of the WPB, do not intend to permit the resumption of civilian production in areas where labor is available, where materials such as aluminum and steel are available and where such civilian work will not jeopardize war production. There is more to this adamant opposition than the desire of big business to complete its war work and prevent small business from getting a head-start in peacetime production for the postwar market. If civilian production were to start now, labor engaged in such production would have to be paid wages comparable to those received in current war production. This would set a precedent for the peacetime production which would begin in full force with the termination of war contracts. At such levels, wages would be a factor of concern to industry . . . as well as a factor which would excite labor unrest should industry suddenly decide to lower wages.

One does not have to be cynical to see that a depression and a good stiff dose of unemployment will take the starch out of labor and make it amenable to drastically reduced wage levels. Is it far-fetched to believe that the rulers of our economic destinies have figured this out, and are hamstringing the reconversion program for this among other reasons?

Hyattsville, Md. W. B.

Captain Sattgast's Status

SIR: My attention has recently been called to an article in The New Republic of June 5, 1944, by Howard Y. Williams, entitled "Stassen of Minnesota."

On page 758 a statement is made about me which if not libel certainly approaches it closely:

> First, Dr. O. Myking Mehus of Winona State Teachers' College was falsely accused of misappropriating funds, this being done by innuendo through the newspapers. Dr. Mehus was vindicated but they made life so difficult for him that he resigned to take a position with the federal government. Dr. Charles R. Sattgast, president of the Bimidji State Teachers' College, was under similar pressure and resigned to enter the armed services.

1. The inference, if not a direct statement, is made here that I have been under pressure in Minnesota for misappropriating funds. It is wholly false. No suspicion or accusation has ever been made regarding the management of the funds of the college during my administration. No person ever brought any pressure to bear on me concerning any of the accounts of the college.

2. I did not resign my position with the college. I was given a leave of absence for the duration of the war with a contract to resume my position as president of the college immediately upon being released from the army. Further, I was asked by the State Teachers' College Board to nominate my successor and they elected the candidate I nominated. His contract was drawn to begin the day I left the college and it will end the day that I return.

3. I did not join the army because of any pressure from the State Teachers' College Board, but joined, as thousands of other men did, to assist my country at a time when men were badly needed for the war effort.

The information given in these three statements is recorded in the minutes of the State Teachers' College Board and their correctness may be proved in court if necessary.

United States Army CAPT. CHARLES R. SATTGAST

[We hasten to apologize to Captain Sattgast for any inaccuracy in our statement regarding him. At the same time, we would point out that he has entirely misread the passage regarding him in the article by Mr. Williams. There was no intention to say that Captain Sattgast had been accused of misappropriating funds. The statement about him simply referred to pressure in general by the Republican gubernatorial administration.

We regret the technical inaccuracy in the statement that Captain Sattgast "resigned" rather than took leave of absence for the duration of the war. – THE EDITORS]

To Limit Congressional Power

SIR: I have read with interest the letter of John Stuart, San Marino, California [August 7], *re* length of service of Senators and Representatives, since I myself have had this same idea. On reflection, however, it appears that this could be disadvantageous, as certainly would have been the case with that grand old man, George Norris, who, throughout long years in Congress, rendered outstanding service to the entire country. Granted that his is a rare record, it is possible that an occasional man of like caliber might appear on the scene.

Since the greatest objection to long terms in Congress arises from the appointment of committee chairmen on the basis of seniority, would it not be a simple remedy to have the chairmanships rotate among the various members of the committees, each serving in that capacity, say, for two years? This would serve to break the power of any one chairman, a power which can be, and is sometimes, used to further the personal whims of vindictive, reactionary persons.

Chapel Hill, N. C. THEKLA K. RICE

From The New Republic Mail Bag

An interesting speculation regarding the German collapse on the Russian front is sent us by W. J. K., of Columbus, Ohio. Our correspondent believes that the Nazis were deliberately resisting more on the Normandy front than in the East, in order to preserve an escape route to fascist Spain for themselves and the remnants of their ideology. W. J. K. warns against failure to recognize Spain—and possibly Argentina—as a refuge for Nazi skins and plunder.

Fred N. Kerwin, of South Haven, Michigan, writes to us in protest against H. D. Gray's letter [July 24] suggesting a plan for removing and reëducating the illegitimate children of a beaten Germany. Mr. Kerwin says that the error implied in such a solution, that Germany's war mood is explained by "a depravity peculiar to her, is a lazy, shoddy avoidance of even the desire to understand. . . . It is as silly and dangerous a spawn of ignorance as that Jewish machinations are at the bottom of the world's mishaps. Those who propagate it . . . cultivate war with every agreement they effect."

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Books in Review

Mt. Sinai Revisited

WALDO FRANK conceives of the Jewish problem as essentially "spiritual or cultural or religious." He will not deal with its "humanitarian or political" aspects, or take account of "biological survival." He has, in fact, a very high-minded disdain for all things secular, which is not in the least disturbed by Reinhold Niebuhr's observation that the first concern of the Jews today is their physical survival as a people. Even so pertinent a topic as anti-Semitism receives little attention in this book of essays[1]; Frank uses it rather as a clue to the Jews' historical mission—*e.g.*, the lie of "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion" points to the true Jewish "conspiracy," which is to carry the ethical ideals of democracy and human brotherhood to the world. If there are any moral or religious consolations to be drawn from suffering, if the extermination of a people can be made to awaken their pitiful leftovers to a new and higher life, Waldo Frank will spare himself no effort. But he says so little about the absolute horror and degradation of contemporary life—a horror which, properly understood, can drive even religious men not toward, but away from, God—that the tone of his address remains one of secure and luxurious sermonizing, quite inappropriate to *our day*.

The Jews, he argues, stand in need of spiritual rebirth. They have been corrupted by the degeneration of the middle class with which they identified themselves in its progressive days. The liberal values of the bourgeoisie have vanished, leaving only materialism and exploitation. The Jews must free themselves from this class which, as in Germany, can bring them nothing but death.

Jewish survival depends on Jewish regeneration, and Jewish regeneration, on the will to justice, social and religious. Two traditions facilitate this task. In the chapter, "With Marx, Spinoza," Waldo Frank urges the Jews to unite themselves with the proletariat, and with all liberal and revolutionary movements dedicated to restoring justice in the world. As for their spiritual regeneration, the ancient Hebrew tradition, descending unbroken from the Prophets through the medieval community, is still available. Social revolution would cleanse the air; the Jews, and with them the entire world, would again "breathe God." (Atheism, to which Marx is deeply committed, he calls "functional," implying that historical materialism and the whole naturalistic predisposition of Marxist "science," has no more than tactical significance!) The Jew need only inspect his own tradition, observe its "fleshing of the spirit," its unification of Law and Word and its profound democratic character, to realize that his role in the redemption of society is none other than the one he must fulfill in redeeming himself. It is this tradition, "the Abrahamic Covenant with God," which makes the Jew different, and at the same time gives him his universal mission as a true and typical embodiment of the world's will to brotherhood. It is the source of his creativeness, his strength and identity, accounting for his survival throughout centuries of unparalleled persecution, and alone capable of ensuring his survival in the future.

With such a program, now vague, now clear, sometimes empty and sometimes full of content, never without contradiction and pitched always at a spiritual elevation that yields true perspective as well as plain nosebleed, one can agree and disagree endlessly. Much as I suspect all arguments that make religion essential to social cohesion, I find to my liking Waldo Frank's insistence upon the importance of the community in any revival of Jewish life. It is frequently forgotten that the Jewish intellectual tradition, as with most traditions in most cultures, has depended upon the integration of the intellectual into the life of his people. The isolation of intellectual activity, thanks to the decay of the middle class which once supported it, is approaching famine, making the intellectuals' labor more and more difficult and futile. The Jewish community has fallen so far behind that its intellectual leadership—the Einsteins, Freuds, Bergsons—has become, strictly speaking, non-Jewish. But I cannot agree that this is in particular a religious failing. Waldo Frank, I believe, here confuses piety with culture, relegating to religion all the values whose greatest flowering was marked by a liberation from religion.

The same objection holds against Frank's basic argument on Jewish survival. He paraphrases the aphorism in which Heine spoke of the Torah as the Jews' portable Fatherland to say that survival is impossible without such religious allegiance. But the Jewish religion occupies a unique position among modern faiths in not having had time to adjust itself to the social changes which had taken place since the overthrow of feudalism. Jewish Emancipation, or *Haskalah*, a movement for secular enlightenment, burst upon a ghetto which was still predominantly medieval in its mode of life. The result was not simply a loss of faith; there was also a perfectly natural bewilderment in the Jewish world which was overwhelmed by its discovery of great secular progress in science and politics. Catholicism had weathered the storm; Protestantism had justified it; Judaism was struck by lightning.

Frank regrets emancipation and its brood of demons, rationalism and empiricism. But the modern secular tradition is as precious to the Jew as the prophetic tradition and as great a part of his identity. Reorganization of modern Jewish life upon a religious basis would involve loss, rather than retention of identity; besides, it is no more possible than, say, the reorganization of the whole of capitalist society upon its Christian foundations.

A purely religious criterion of national identity would give a liberal the shudders, were it advocated for any people but the Jews. This qualification is possible only because the Jews have no homeland. But it is nationalism all the same—absolute nationalism, double-stitched with metaphysics and theology, compared with which Zionism is but a pale, latter-day remnant of the Rights of Man. And Zionism, covering a wide range of political and religious opinion, at least allows the Jew his modernity and his diversity. In

[1] The Jew in Our Day, by Waldo Frank, with an introduction by Reinhold Niebuhr. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 199 pages. $2.50.

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seeking to remove the basic Jewish abnormality—lack of a homeland—it would relieve the disproportionately great pressures which certain inevitable social processes, such as assimilation, exert upon the Jewish community. It is far better to abolish abnormalities than to seize upon them for consolation, and thus make permanent the tragic features of Jewish existence. ISAAC ROSENFELD

Peace without Realism

The Story of Woodrow Wilson, by David Loth. New York: The Woodrow Wilson Foundation. 32 pages. Free.
Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace, by Thomas A. Bailey. New York: The Macmillan Company. 381 pages. $3.
The Economic Thought of Woodrow Wilson, by William Diamond. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 210 pages. Paper, $2; cloth, $2.50.
Woodrow Wilson: As the Camera Saw Him Then and as We Begin to See Him Today, by Gerald W. Johnson, with the collaboration of the Editors of Look Magazine. New York: Harper and Brothers. 291 pages. $2.

WITH THE HELP of Hollywood and a free-flowing Wilson literature we seem to be in the midst of a Woodrow Wilson revival. Here are four diverse items: a pamphlet reviewing his career, a camera-caption biography, a study of the evolution of his mind and a painstaking review of his mistakes as a peacemaker. The tone of the Wilson revival is echoed by the Foreword to Mr. Loth's pamphlet in the remark that Wilson's life "is now being vindicated by history." These words suggest that Wilson's memory will continue to be invoked to support a vague and inarticulate internationalism, now that the older provincial isolationism that broke him is on the wane.

Professor Bailey's book, however, which is certain to be of special interest today, is by no means in the hero-worshiping vein. Bailey sees many, many mistakes in his careful survey of our part in the peace, a good share of them primarily Wilson's. Although written without the least malice, his book somehow reads like a bill of indictment.

Professor Bailey does not shirk the task of offering future peacemakers a few recommendations (which would doubtless be of more use if peace treaties were made in the same spirit in which his book is written): war aims should be unambiguous, practicable, acceptable to American public opinion; the passions of the people should be held in leash during the fighting, so that they do not form political barriers to a lasting settlement; American public opinion "should be educated *in advance* to its responsibilities in world affairs"; the enemy should be forced to surrender unconditionally—*unless* the conditions are made entirely clear (unlike the Fourteen Points), and the victors intend in good faith to fulfill them; the American peace commission should be bipartisan; the Senate should be consulted by the President at every stage; the defeated powers should be allowed to discuss the terms of the final treaty *while it is being drawn up;* the detailed covenant of a League of Nations or other form of world organization should not be included as a part of the peace treaty; the Constitution should be amended to eliminate the obstructive power of a one-third minority in the Senate; the President should never again make promises (like Wilson's to underwrite French security) which he does not believe the Senate will support; and, finally, the peace should be built on "what people are likely to accept and what they will accept, not on what they should ideally accept."

The following statement sums up Professor Bailey's opinion of Wilson's statecraft and reiterates the most persistent note of his book. Wilson, he says,

> preached ideals which were clearly unrealizable in this, our world. . . . [He] had a noble vision but he made the tragic mistake of thinking that mankind . . . could attain a kind of international equilibrium at a single bound. He assumed that human nature . . . could be substantially changed overnight, especially American human nature.

This strikes me as one of those philistine observations that are never useful even when they are true. But is it, in this case, quite true? *Did* Wilson fail chiefly because he was too far ahead of the public mind? That American sentiment was not thoroughly prepared for internationalism in 1919 and that Wilson himself had done little to prepare it, need not be denied. No doubt this is why we so readily relapsed into the bumptious isolationism of the twenties. And yet, as Professor Bailey himself points out, a Literary Digest poll of American newspaper opinion on joining the League *without reservations*, published in April, 1919, showed a favorable sentiment of two to one. Even Senator Lodge privately admitted that a majority of the American people favored the League.

These facts suggest that it may not have been so much the disparity between Wilson's desires and the people's that lost his cause as it was a combination of many things—among them his own maladroit dealings with the Senate and the inordinate power that minority opinion can wield in that body, especially when a treaty is at stake.

If Bailey's conclusion is in any way misleading as to the state of public opinion, it is more so in what it suggests about the President himself: for Wilson, far from being an impetuous innovator, was at heart a traditionalist. If, in his conception of the form of world order he reached well forward into the twentieth century, in his conception of its content he reached well back into the nineteenth. The weakness of his vision was not that it was too new, but that in vital respects it was old-fashioned.

Here is where Dr. Diamond's modestly titled and brilliantly executed study of Wilson's thinking becomes pertinent. Dr. Diamond, in a close interpretation based upon Wilson's public and private papers, reminds us how deeply Wilson was rooted in English economic liberalism. His economic views were still based squarely upon the fictions of the classical tradition. Even the domestic reforms of his administrations had their chief significance, in his eyes, as a means of restoring free competitive capitalism and with it the opportunities of what he called "the little man." Such were the limitations with which he entered the international field.

The result was an inadequate understanding of the economic requirements of world peace and a grotesque overemphasis on political forms. Food relief, the removal of

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trade barriers between nations and freedom of the seas—this was substantially all Wilson's economic program consisted of and evidently all he thought necessary. Veblen wrote in 1919 that the League Covenant was

> a political document, an instrument of *Realpolitik*, created in the image of nineteenth-century imperialism. It has been set up by political statesmen on political grounds, for political ends and with political apparatus to be used with political effects.

When Wilson was en route to the Peace Conference he told his technical advisers that he was "not much interested in the economic subjects" that might be discussed at Paris. While he was ready to sacrifice his life to achieve international political organization, Dr. Diamond's evidence shows that the problems of economic organization, when they came to his attention at all, merely repelled or bored him. John Maynard Keynes showed long ago how vital to Europe were these "economic subjects" that Wilson so impatiently brushed aside.

If academic training means anything, Wilson was the most completely prepared man who ever gained the presidency, but his failure was, among other things, a great failure of intelligence. He seems to have used his learning in history, economics and political science not as an instrument to find out what was happening in the world, but chiefly as a fund of personal assurance from which to issue his well remembered moralities. For all the superficial energy of his mind, his intellect was usually in repose.

If it is hard to stand in awe of Wilson today, Gerald W. Johnson's poignant photo-biography reminds us that it is also hard to be flippant or cruel about him. The pictures are wonderfully evocative as they trace, with the aid of Mr. Johnson's economical captions, that lean and righteous countenance through the rising and falling phases of Wilson's career from professordom to martyrdom. There is a touching photograph near the end showing Wilson with his successor and antithesis, Warren G. Harding, as they ride out to Harding's inauguration; the retiring President stares blankly into the cold eyes of the future, and on his deathful face there is a look of pain and baffled anger.

RICHARD HOFSTADTER

370

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Schoolmasters' View of Japan

Traveler from Tokyo, by John Morris. New York: Sheridan House. 253 pages $2.75.
Nippon: The Crime and Punishment of Japan, by Willis Lamott. New York: The John Day Company. 258 pages. $2.50.

IN THESE BOOKS two men who taught English in Japanese schools and universities report that their students heartily disliked military training. With this agreement, however, similarity ends, for the two books are extraordinarily unlike in style, purpose and method.

Mr. Morris, an Englishman, went to Japan early in 1938 at the invitation of the Japanese Foreign Office, to act as adviser on English usage and to teach in the Tokyo Imperial University, which prepares its students for official jobs. Not liking the "prisonlike atmosphere" of the university, he was transferred to Keio, one of the two important privately endowed institutions whose students are slated for jobs in big business. Here he found the atmosphere more congenial. Mr. Morris writes as a sympathetic observer of Japanese psychology and culture. His focus is largely personal, his style admirably informal and easy to read. Although he remained in Japan—still teaching—for eight months after Pearl Harbor, his book is almost entirely non-political and non-military. He concentrates on giving interesting information about the lighter side of—for the most part—semi-Westernized Japan. He writes of his experiences in housekeeping, Japanese dress, the press, the Japanese language, psychology, mountain-climbing, telephones, radio, marriage and so on. He gives considerable space to his students and, despite his light touch, succeeds admirably in conveying the bewildered frustration that is characteristic of so many young men in the Japanese universities who are worked to death trying to master two dissimilar cultures simultaneously. He devotes a chapter to "Police Methods" and one to the "Outbreak of War," and concludes with a few notes on postwar Japan.

Mr. Morris provides a welcome antidote to the hate-books. In a few particulars he gives a somewhat too rosy view of Japan's economy and educational level. He has also, of course, chosen to deal with a relatively narrow field. Within his deliberate limits, however, he offers a good deal of useful and interesting information.

Mr. Lamott's book is considerably more ambitious, and almost completely impersonal. Although he taught in Japan for nineteen years, both in government middle schools and in a university founded by foreigners and carried on by Japanese Christians, he fails to give the personal-observation description of Japanese customs and

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institutions that the reader might expect and that we so sadly need. His major preoccupation is Japan's "expansionist urge." He accepts the currently popular (though remarkably undocumented) thesis of Japan's hereditary "expansionist" tradition; discusses briefly the causes of Japan's modern expansionism; surveys the domestic political developments from 1931 to Tojo; makes an analysis of some of the modern mythology propaganda; and concludes with a brief discussion of the possibilities of postwar Japan.

In a brief space it is impossible to discuss this sort of book critically. Japan is confused and it is easier to mirror this confusion than to disperse it. The material Mr. Lamott presents is highly controversial. In the opinion of this reviewer, however, the weakness of "Nippon" as a guide to postwar planning is its failure to distinguish between "traditionalism" as propaganda, and the Japanese traditional customs and institutions as a way of life. Like the vast majority of our postwar planners, Mr. Lamott places too much emphasis on the relatively small, educated, Westernized classes and ignores the fact that the predominant civilization in Japan today is still her ancient traditional one. He condemns this civilization, through implication, by emphasizing the fact that "traditionalism" has been repeatedly used by the "expansionist cliques" as a technique for arousing nationalism.

That a tradition can be used to unite a people behind a war, however, does not mean that the tradition is necessarily aggressive. It should not be forgotten that in times of national crisis any genuine tradition can be used successfully for arousing national unity. We are proud that our own liberal, democratic tradition can be effective for this purpose, yet this surely does not mean that our tradition is aggressive. It means only that we value our tradition so much that we will fight when we feel it is challenged. The same situation would appear to be true in Japan for the vast majority of the average people. If the "expansionist clique" was able to use "traditionalism" successfully as a technique for arousing unity, it was because the customs and institutions that are described by that term represent a deep-rooted set of behavior patterns which the Japanese can no more quickly discard than we could change our customs and attitudes at the command of some foreign conqueror during a military occupation.

An illustration of this is supplied by Mr. Lamott's discussion of the Emperor. He feels that "Japan will always be a menace to the world so long as the garments of divinity are permitted to cling to this particular specimen of genus homo." In essence he suggests that: (1) the Emperor might publicly renounce all claim to divinity, or (2) the people might vote in a plebiscite on whether or not the Emperor is a god.

This is a bald statement of Mr. Lamott's suggestions, but it does not distort his proposals. A study of these proposals ought to clarify the difficulty of our trying to apply our own traditions in a situation where we are dealing with a civilization that is entirely unlike our own. If the problem were principally, "Is the Emperor a god?" it could hardly be solved by a plebiscite, since to vote on the question of godhead is an absurdity. The problem of the Imperial Family, however, is much more important than that. It involves the question as to whether the Japanese should be made to repudiate the entire complex of social, religious and political customs, attitudes, institutions and traditions that make up Japanese civilization and are symbolized by the Imperial Family.

There can be no quarrel with Mr. Lamott's final objectives—a stable Far East, based on recognition of the sovereign rights of the native peoples, and regional coöperation replacing imperialism. However, as both Mr. Morris and Mr. Lamott point out, the final decision here will rest not with the Japanese, but with the Western powers. The problem for Japan, after the militarists are defeated, is how to fit her people and their odd economy into whatever frame is devised. The relatively simple solution of letting them develop their traditional society and traditional skills within a framework of general coöperation will not be seen as relatively simple until we stop insisting that their traditions are inherently expansionist.

HELEN MEARS

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Evgs., 8:30. Mats. Thurs. & Sat., 2:30

A Reader's List

THE COMING STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, by André Visson (Viking, $3). This handy reference book of the social forces in international and national politics shaping the postwar world order states facts, not predilections. Its author, a diligent collector of relevant data and by no means a radical, clearly recognizes the revolutionary consequences of the war against fascism for Europe's subjugated nations like France, Yugoslavia or Greece, and the colonial or semi-colonial peoples of North Africa, the Near and Middle East. The lack of information on Germany and Italy is unfortunate. The chapters on Anglo-American-Russian relations are a healthy antidote to the hosannahs on the one hand, and the sneers on the other, which accompany current commentaries of the Teheran conference. The author's dispassionate account of the forces making for change and stability, as mirrored in contemporary politics, should be appreciated by optimists and pessimists alike.

THE WILD BLUE YONDER, by Emile Gauvreau (Dutton, $3). This is more than a persuasive case for air power by one of Billy Mitchell's disciples. It examines the cartel agreements which have tied the hands of air-power enthusiasts since before World War I. Mr. Gauvreau unmercifully analyzes the part Zaharov and other munitions makers played in curbing air-power development which would have competed with the armaments industry; the "aircraft conspiracy" of the last war; and the extent to which American industries consciously or unconsciously helped the Axis prepare for aggression during the twenties and thirties. The moral is obvious. Unless we enforce international anti-trust agreements we shall find the aircraft industry monopolized by those who hope to produce an even more destructive "bargain counter of warfare."

Contributors

JOSEPH ROSENFARB is the author, among other books, of "Highway to Tokyo" and is a frequent contributor of articles on military subjects to the magazines.

EDWARD A. HARRIS, now Washington correspondent of The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, was for seven years political writer and rewrite man for The St. Louis Star-Times. Before his transfer to Washington he was also the St. Louis "string" correspondent for Time.

BEKA DOHERTY was formerly associated with Medical Administration Service, Inc. She is now writing free-lance articles on medical subjects.

ARTHUR HEPNER covers labor news for The St. Louis Post-Dispatch and contributes articles to a number of magazines.

MAY SARTON, the author of two books of verse and a novel, is at work on another novel about Belgium in the twenty years between wars. She is now living in Cambridge.

ISAAC ROSENFELD, formerly an assistant editor of The New Republic, is now at work on a novel which will be published in the early spring by Dial Press.

RICHARD HOFSTADTER, assistant professor of History at the University of Maryland, is the author of a study, "Social Darwinism in American Thought," recently published by the University of Pennsylvania Press.

HELEN MEARS is an analyst of Far Eastern affairs, with special emphasis on Japan. She is the author of "Year of the Wild Boar," a book about Japan, and is at work on another book dealing with the special problems of Japan in the postwar world.

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